1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

the breeze blowing from Niuatoputapu Island. This respectful manner of eating is assumed because Niuatoputapu is "chief" to Niuafoou: the chiefly house of Niuafoou once supplied a wife for the chief of Niuatoputapu.

It is tapu to touch the father's head or hair, to touch him while he is eating, to sleep on his bed or pillow, to partake of his food or drink, and to play with his belongings. The result of infraction, sickness and perhaps early death for the child, might however, be overcome by the father stroking the child's throat, head, or stomach; that is, the seat of the trouble that was believed to have arisen from an infraction. The tapu is weakened today. An informant of high rank who had been educated in Australia said he never touched his father's head, but that he would not hesitate to let his own son touch his.

A youth observes all the prohibitions with his father, but may take all sorts of liberties with his father's father. Thus he may wear his father's father's *vala* (garment), or eat his food. Toward the mother's father, the same license prevails. Collocott has described the privilege of eating the *fono* (relish food) which the grandchildren enjoy at the kava circle (15, p. 30).

The relation of the children to their mother is one of freedom from restraint and tapu. A Tongan explained this to me on the rationalistic basis—the child must have unrestrained access to its mother for the sake of nourishment. Towards the mother's sister the child's attitude is the same as towards the mother. The maximum of freedom, however, is found in the child's behavior towards the mother's brother and the mother's father. The child is *fahu* (above the law) to his mother's brother.

If a woman of high rank marries a commoner, their offspring treat the father and his brothers and sisters as though they were chiefs. Respect to the father and his siblings is enjoined regardless of rank, for relative to his offspring his rank is always higher, as head of the family. These same offspring of a woman of rank and of a man of commoner clay are perfectly free to act as they please toward their mother and her siblings. Towards their mother's brother they stand in the relation of *fahu*, even though their father is of inferior rank.

It is apparent that because of these relations between sex and age, no two individuals in a Tongan family are identical in rank. The situation is similar to that in the Japanese family, in which, as stated by Hearn (29, p. 80), "every person, from the youngest child up to the grandfather, was subject to somebody else."

The exactness with which members of a family are graded in rank is well shown by the following example: Two girls, Fakatoumafi and Ika, are

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

and may talk, but not familiarly. With aged siblings the tapu is somewhat relaxed. One informant said that a brother may cook food for a sister, but not the sister for the brother because that would look as though they were married. If a man came in from the bush very tired his sister might procure some food for him, but she might not nurse him when he was ill. A brother would not avenge the rape of a sister; the father or mother's brother would do that.

Some curious abrogations of the brother-sister tapu came to light. In one family a girl named Ika was so named by her paternal grandmother after her maternal grandmother and she thereby assumed the status of the grandmother, or perhaps of a mother, to her own brother. She can approach him freely, can tend him in sickness, and generally be with him without restriction by the usual tapu. In another family Tangakinakovi, daughter of the chief Veehala and wife of Luani, being childless, was allowed to adopt Taliauli, her full brother, all brother-sister tapu being disregarded.

Cross-cousin marriage, which seems to have been common, is a violation of the brother-sister tapu. Yet a decision reached in the family councils will do away with this tapu and a man and woman who could not come into close proximity to each other by their own initiative may be married by the will of those who have the ordering of them.

There are at times evasions of the tapu. Brother and sister sometimes do covertly converse. It is considered very bad form for anyone to notice this. During my sojourn in Tonga a man came to his *tuofefine* and asked for his shirt, which in all probability she had washed for him. A European standing near overheard the man ask and jocularly remarked that the girl did not have his shirt, but had given it away. The pair fled in dismay, for being *tuongaane* and *tuofefine* to each other, they had no right to converse. The European committed a serious breach of etiquette in noting that they were conversing.

Although the observances described are those of today, they undoubtedly give a picture of the past as well. Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 147) has the following to say:

> Every chief also pays the greatest respect towards his eldest sister, which respect he shews in an odd way, but it is according to custom, viz., by never entering into the house where she resides; but upon what exact principle, except custom, Mr. Mariner has not satisfactorily learned.

THE FAHU

As the sister is superior in rank to the brother, so also are her children, both male and female. Moreover, the sister's children are superior to the brother's children. The sister's children are *fahu* (Fijian *vasu*) to their mother's brother. They have the privilege of taking their uncle's goods,

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

also the goods of his children, either during his life or after his death. Even one of the uncle's wives might be appropriated. At the wedding of a man's child, his sister's children may help themselves to the presents. The brother's children must show respect (*fakaapaapa*) to the sister's children. The institution of *fahu* is a one-sided, non-reciprocal affair. The victims never have a chance to retaliate, but they exercise similar privilege towards their own mother's brother and his offspring. Towards one's *fahu* only respect and acquiescence must be shown. To appropriate the property of the *fahu* would be a serious breach of custom.

One chiefly informant remarked to me that he was lucky in having no closely related *fahu*, as he had no sister. He had, however, female cousins, whose children were *fahu* to him to a certain extent, but not like a real or great *fahu*. One such remote *fahu* visited this chief while I was with him, his father's brother's daughter's daughter. She did not have the privilege of a near *fahu* but must ask his permission before taking his property.

Radcliffe-Brown (48, pp. 543, 553, 550) records for Tonga that

> . . . the sister's son is permitted to take many liberties with his mother's brother, and to take any of his uncle's possessions that he may desire. And there also we find the custom that, when the uncle makes a sacrifice, the sister's son takes away the sacred portion offered to the gods, and may eat it.
>
> . . . The daughter's son must be honoured by his grandfather. He is "a chief" to him. He may take his grandfather's property, and he may take away the offering that his grandfather makes to the gods at a kava ceremony. The mother's father and the mother's brother are the objects of very similar behaviour patterns, of which the outstanding feature is the indulgence on the one side and the liberty permitted on the other.

The daughter's son may intervene in the sacrificial ritual in the same way as the sister's son, the behavior between the mother's father and the daughter's son being much the same as between the mother's brother and the sister's son.

Liberties and jocular remarks may be indulged in with relatives through one's mother's brother, except where the brother-sister tapu interferes. Such liberties and remarks cannot be reciprocated, for the very reason that respect towards the father and his relatives is definitely enjoined, and especially towards the father's sister (*mehekitanga*) and her offspring.

Modern Tongan dictionaries describe the *fahu* as "one that is above the law," and the verb *fakafahufahu* as "to act as an outlaw." In actual practice the *fahu* (or *ilamutu*, to use the term of relationship) often did appropriate the property of his mother's brother (*tuasina*), who as a rule did not protest. At the kava ceremony the *fahu* ate the relish presented to his mother's brother. The grandchildren, also referred to as *fahu*, had the same privilege (15, p. 30).

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

and the subsequent apprehension and cruel punishment of his murderers (26, p. 34).

Many fights occur at *pola* fishing (p. 146). Some young man on the outside of the fishing fence, where all except the officials belong until the signal is given to cross it, seeing his enemy close at hand among the *kauleo* deliberately crosses the fence and fishes on the wrong side. His enemy strives to break his spear and drive him back. Other young men take sides and use their spears for purposes other than fishing. It is the duty of the older men to stop such fights (*toutakao*).

To call a person *matapapanga* (flat-faced person) constitutes an outrageous insult to the man or woman so denoted.

A sort of preemptive right to all the women of their districts was accepted by the people as a chief's prerogative. The late Ata used to lie in wait for women beside the road, and none dared complain, because he was a high chief.

A great chief, whose daughter or other female living with him was seduced, would order people to bring the culprit, and the chief himself, or someone delegated to do so, would beat the man over the face and body with a branch of *loholoho* (coconut stem from which small nuts hang), and send him home. The girl would be beaten also and might be sent back to her seducer after a beating in public or in presence of her family. A seducer was beaten even though a chief, provided the girl he seduced was of higher rank and provided marriage did not follow at once.

A man who had intercourse with a young girl before her first menstruation would be beaten severely or killed, according to the extent of the anger of the girl's relatives. The father of the girl or her maternal male relatives avenged her, but not her brothers.

No compounding for the crime of raping a young girl was tolerated. If a daughter of a high chief was raped and the culprit knew that the chief had knowledge of the fact, the man would go and tell his whole family of what he had done. The family would ask the grandson of the chief to intercede, and wearing girdles of *ifi* leaves around the neck and waist, would go to the father of the outraged girl. The man and his family would sit down outside the chief's house, bow down their heads and send his grandson in to him. The grandson would call out the chief's name and say: "Excuse me. These people have come here with me. Excuse me, don't be angry, or if you are angry do what you like to me, but let these people go free." The grandson and not the son of the chief would be the interceder because the son must show respect to both father and sister, while the grandson may take liberties. If the chief were clement, the affair was ended. No gifts were given, for if he accepted gifts it would be disgraceful, as it would look like encouragement of the act. It was customary for

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 0U9 Tonga 0U9

goes to the island beyond the sky." This is confirmed by other writers (28, 38, 40), although other ideas of the road to Pulotu are no less unmistakably found. Sir James Frazer has summed up the published accounts of burial and mourning ceremonial (20, vol. 2, pp. 84-147.) It is said that common people were regarded as having no souls; but there seems to be a difficulty, at any rate among present-day Tongans, in deciding just at what point of social elevation a man might hope to be eligible for the joys of Pulotu, and possibly many a man whom his superiors regarded as hopelessly disqualified nourished a secret hope that he might, after all, inherit the pleasures and consequence that were denied him amongst mortals.

When a person has died, and is still lying in the house where he died, only those who are *fahu* to him can go into the part of the house which is about the dead man's head, or can do anything to the upper part of the body. Practical difficulties in preparing the body, should any arise, may be overcome by a *fahu* summoning whom he will to help. The bidding of the *fahu* nulifies the tapu. Foreigners are exempt from tapu binding on natives. In especial the persons who attend the bodies of the dead are the *haa tufunga*, certain *matapule* whose hereditary duty and privilege this is. Tradition makes it clear that this right has been given from one family to another. For a high chief, all who come near the body will be *haa tufunga*. There are considerable emoluments attached to this rank, or duty, as the *haa tufunga* take all the mats which have touched the body and are not buried with it. In practical application there seems to be considerable modification of rules, and eligibility to perform certain functions is not always clearly defined, especially in the case of people of humble social rank.

For some time after the *haa tufunga* have performed their duties about the body of a high chief people are rather shy of them. If they drank from a cup in a house they would take it away with them. A chiefly girl has told me that she noticed at the obsequies of a late head of her own house that the *haa tufunga* all took their own cups with them to avoid embarrassment. I have never seen the *nimatapu* (the hands of a person who has lately touched the dead rendered tapu so that he cannot feed himself) and I am doubtful if many, even of living Tongans, can have seen it; but I have heard of one European who has seen it in comparatively recent years.

The children and brothers of a dead man may not approach the body, but his grandchildren may. He is of superior social rank to his children, but not to his grandchildren.

Ordinarily the women are busy about the dead. Women wail, more or less constantly, from the time the death occurs till the body is removed from the house. Men do not stay in the house where the body is lying. At some time after the burial a woman who is *fahu* to the deceased sprinkles water in the house where he died, and all tapu is thus removed from it.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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537 592 829 571 **448. Nonofo nonofo iloa ae tae oe nonofo:** Living together, living together, the excrement of the living together (or of those living together) is discovered.

Baker renders it: "To live together for a length of time, and then find out the evil of so doing." This seems a very likely meaning, but the expression is also explained as equivalent to the English, "It's an ill bird that fouls its own nest."

539 622 565 602 431 **449. Tangi ke vikia kae au ae kainga:** Desiring to be praised but the relatives badly off.

This particularly indicates a chief who makes a liberal distribution of his food and other wealth, but overlooks the claims of his own immediate followers. He may earn the reputation of generosity from numerous people who have benefitted by his ostentatious gifts, but those whom every consideration of justice and gratitude should have recommended to his most kindly treatment are left to suffer want. Also written, *Holi ke vikia*.

539 595 183 577 **450. Hala a jinifu:** Wrong-doing of concubine.

Wrong-doing, punishment for which involves others besides the actual offender. If one of the wives of a chief proved false to her lord the whole harem shared her guilt and punishment.

451. Ofoofa a kui: Love of grandparent.

539 603 571 The love of grandparents is very sincere but their anger is to be dreaded, as in their wrath they may strike the offending grandchildren how and where they will. The love of one whose affection is undoubted, but whose position of authority is such that he may punish without let or hindrance.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

539 584 [726] **452. A maumau taimi:** Awake, wasting time.

Applied, for instance, to the man who spends his evenings wooing a girl whom he has no chance of winning. Used also in derision by the warriors inside a fortress to the foe whom they see outside watching early and late for an opportunity to force an entrance.

[177] In its present form with its employment of *taimi*, a corruption of the English time, this phrase is modern, but with the slight change to *'i maumaunoa*, waking to no purpose, it may well be ancient.

453. Anefe ha taha a Majilamea: When was there anyone of Majilamea?

A beautiful chiefly girl of Vavau was courted by a chief of Majilamea in Vavau. This gentleman was not a very glib speaker nor apparently was he very lavish with his gifts to the lady. His courting was evidently a rather dull infliction on the damsel. She was wooed and won by another man who was not a chief, but who had the art of pleasing speech and the

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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592 The variation in the numerical composition of the
162 Pangai households is shown below:

Persons per household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Number of households	3	3	2	4	9	5	1	6	5	4	1	1

Households with a numerical membership of four to ten persons account for seventy-seven per cent. of the total number of households.

ADOPTION

597 There are two types of adoption practised in Pangai. The first is a permanent adoption *(ohia)*. It involves a complete change of family and household. The child is bespoken generally before or immediately after birth. The adopting parents provide food for the pregnant mother and
[553] for the infant during the nursing-period. They also name
[862] the child, taking possession of it after weaning is completed. At this time the break is made with the blood-parents and the child is thereafter known as the child of the adopting
[867] parents. As it grows up it will learn kinship terms and
[601] terms of respect for the relatives of its adopted parents, not for those of its own blood-parents. It will also expect to
[428] inherit property, status and rank, if any, from its adopted parents.

The other type of adoption is an impermanent feeding-relationship *(tauhi)*. Relatives ask for a child or parents ask relatives to take a child if the relatives are lonely or elderly or if the parents find that they have more mouths in the household than there is food to go round. The relatives feed and care for the child, but the child may return to its parents any time it is convenient or circumstances so change
[603] that this return is desirable. Very often grandparents take
[428] charge of a grandchild in this way, leaving property to the grandchild when they die.

The feeding-relationship is the more common of the two types of adoption. Of twenty-five cases of adoption known to informants among the village population of 268 persons, only two were of the permanent type, the remainder being of the feeding-type. It is obvious from this that complete

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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767 554 264 252 resign himself to eating alone all the days of his life.[25] His left-over food is always given to animals—it may never be eaten by another human. He may never cook for his wife or children. His food is always prepared for him.

858 766 [845] 553 [767] DEATH OF CHILDREN

An infant who dies at birth or is stillborn may be named, or not, according to the wish of the parents. It is buried in the village cemetery, by the parents themselves, without benefit of the undertaker's skill. A child is hardly important enough to merit calling in the undertaker. The difference in pattern between the death ceremonial for the adult as just described, and that for a young child is well brought out by the following notes on the death of an eight months old infant.

766 858 593 603 This infant, Kuli by name, suffered from a fever for five days then died suddenly at noon, in his mother's mother's house. Present at the death were the mother, the mother's mother, and the mother's mother's sister, the latter two being very old women, partially blind and crippled. An unrelated woman passerby heard the first death wail from the mother. She went inside the house and found the dead baby cupped on the weeping mother's lap. The woman closed the baby's eyes and left. Outside the house sat the infant's father. A three-year-old sister of the infant is sent crying from the house to join her father. The mother soon leaves the house of death to go to her own house to fetch the laying-out mats and bark cloth. The mother's brother's daughter arrives and commences to clean and sweep the death-house. The half-senile mother's mother begins to talk to arriving mourners who have difficulty in suppressing laughter at the

[178] [184] [25] Formerly, according to Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 196-198), a commoner was most likely to be buried by a relative. "Nowadays even commoners are buried by the *haatufunga*." Gifford also notes that after a burial, an undertaker could not feed himself for five, ten, or fifteen days, the period of *tapu* depending upon the rank of the deceased. Information in the text above that the Pangai undertaker eats by himself for two or three days, probably represents a modern variation on the more complete *tapu* of not eating with the hands. Information that the highest-class undertakers eat by themselves all the days of their lives probably represents village belief only. There is no mention of this extreme *tapu* in the pages of Gifford.

old woman's broad jokes. These sallies are directed at the cause of the infant's death which the old woman thought was due to over-indulgence in sugar-cane. While a pad of bark cloth is pushed under the infant's chin to hold up its head, the mourners speculate quietly on the fate that has overtaken the mother's offspring: eight born, four alive, four dead.

The two old women wipe the dead body and oil it, then wrap it in bark cloth. Finally the mother returns with mats. The body is laid out on the floor and covered with a fine mat up to the neck. The mother now starts wailing over her child, calling out for her brother (the *fa'e tangata* of the dead child) and regretting he is not present. The grandmother chants phrases expressing the wish that the child should have life again. After each call she bends over the child and kisses its face. The father comes in with fly-switches for the mourners. He sits by the head of his child crying quietly. The grandmother soon stops wailing. The mother continues for a further two hours. Suddenly, the father remembers that he is without his ceremonial skirt. He goes off to his house to find it and put it on.

In the afternoon, the pastor of the church comes to the house and holds a prayer meeting over the body. In the evening and all night long, members of the church, of the family and relatives sing hymns and pray. The father digs the grave during the night.

On the following morning at dawn, after regular church attendance, all the men and women of the village dress in their ceremonial skirts and go to the house of death. Presently the procession moves to the cemetery, the body of the dead child carried in the arms of the father's brother. There follow at the grave prayers, hymn-singing and then the quick burial.

The women of the family of the dead child return to the mother's mother's house where the women form a *kava*-circle. The men of the family meet in the mother's brother's house for *kava*. This division of the sexes is unusual for a funeral *kava*-circle. The reason given in this case was that the mother's mother's house was too small for all the mourners. Some of the women boiled food which was later

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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for the villagers to find the money to repay this debt. Another basis for the inference, again according to local pastors, is that Pangai always lags far behind the other villages of comparable size in Vava'u when special collections are made for church purposes. It is difficult for the outsider to evaluate such judgments. Our own observations suggest that there is in Pangai a warmth of religious feeling and spiritual fervor that would be considered highly abnormal in countries with a longer Christian tradition behind them. On the other hand there is in Pangai a noticeable lack of what may be called civic and religious pride when this village is compared with some of the other villages in Vava'u, particularly other villages where the noble estate-owner is in residence and acts as a sort of dynamo in village life. The village overseer of Pangai, as has been noted before, is a good, plain, honest fellow, a Pangai man among his friends. None could possibly accuse him of having the energy of vaulting ambition, or the efficiency of a village-manager. From this viewpoint, therefore, Pangai is probably slack where civic pride is concerned, slack also when it comes to the matter of showing interest in one's church by contributions other than, or additional to, the ordinary quarterly dues.

SUNDAY SCHOOL

An attempt is made by church pastors to give the young training in religious matters through the institution of a Sunday school which meets once each week before the regular mid-morning church service. The instruction, given by the pastor, consists in the usual Bible readings and the learning of Bible texts. At the end of the year prizes are given to the best pupils. The names of these pupils are announced during church service, and their parents derive great satisfaction and pride from the awards. To show the form this satisfaction may take, the following notes from our field-diary are added:

When two of Koloamatangi's grandchildren (Koloa is the village overseer) received church prizes, he took the opportunity to give one of the biggest feasts in village memory. He slaughtered a bull to provide the principal relish and added to this large amounts of octopus, fish, and

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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794 pork, and the usual vegetable staples. The guests sat for an
574 hour before all this food while the local pastor led the group in prayer, hymn-singing and Bible reading. Then the word was given to eat. The church bell tolling the hour of mid-
[578] week service came all too soon after this. Some guests were heard to criticize the holding of church services at the usual hour on this day insofar as they felt that they had not been given reasonable time to eat as much of the food displayed
[431] as they desired. Many of the guests were given large baskets of food to take with them when they left. This they brought out to eat in their own houses when church was finished.
794 While appreciating Koloa's generosity in giving such a large
574 feast, some of the villagers thought that the display was
578 rather ostentatious if it was for the mere purpose of
554 honouring Sunday-school prize-winners. But Koloa was greatly attached to his two grandchildren, and he had
[603] decided that if he was to give a feast, then only the biggest feast was good enough for them. He did not overlook the fact that only a man very wealthy in Tongan foods could give such a feast. In this way, therefore, Sunday-school prizes became the excuse to express both his affection for his children and his status in the village community.

THE LAY-PREACHER

794 With the exception of the village pastors, none are more
793 important in the village in the functioning of the Protestant churches than the lay-preachers. They occupy a middle
554 stage in the religious hierarchy between pastor at the top and church congregation at the bottom. They are those specially devout religious men who for one reason or another have been unable to qualify for the full period of training that is necessary before being ordained as a pastor but who have had sufficient religious fervour to study for and pass the examinations that are the prerequisite for certification as a lay-preacher by the Church Conference. The duties of the lay-preacher in Pangai—there are about five of them in the Free Wesleyan Church—are to relieve the church pastor for one or more of the seven church-services and prayer-meetings each week in Pangai and to help the pastor by giving further relief in the administration of the Pangai "circuit" which includes two other villages besides Pangai.

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

the second Tu'i Kanokupolu. Ve'ehala and Ata Mataila were brothers, and Ve'ehala's *fono* is not brought from the portion allotted to Motu'apuaka or Lauaki, but from that assigned to the king himself. But the *fono* is not eaten by those to whom it is given. After it has been distributed certain people who are *fahu* to those to whom the *fono* has been given come and take it away to dispose of as they like; they may eat it themselves or give it to whomsoever they will. Usually the *fono* is not eaten till after the *kava* ceremony is finished. Those who have the right of eating the *fono* are spoken of as *kai fono*, *fono* eaters. Some of the *fahu* of a chief are spoken of as *kau mokopuna 'eiki*, noble descendants, or noble grandchildren. (*Mokopuna* is the word used in translating the English "grandchild," but of course its Tongan meaning is not so restricted.) Not all *mokopuna* are *'eiki*, noble. (Mr. Hocart's distinction between nobles and chiefs, titled heads of houses, is necessary and convenient. The Tongan word for both nobles and chiefs is *'eiki*, but there is a third sense of *'eiki*, viz., superior in social rank. For example, one may say that such a one, a member of his family, is *'eiki* to him, i.e., superior to him in rank within the family; all the members of the family may be *'eiki*, noble, and some one or other individual may be the *'eiki*, the titled head.) Whether the *mokopuna* are noble or not depends on birth, doubtless on the rank of their mothers. One informant calls the *mokopuna 'eiki* those who are *'eiki*, socially superior, in their families. Children, *fanau*, do not eat the *fono*, but only *mokopuna*. A father is sacred, *toputapu*, to his sons and daughters; they must not touch his head or eat his food; but grandchildren are not bound by *tapu* in respect of their grandparents.

But although some may simply say that the *kau mokopuna 'eiki*, chiefly grandchildren, are those who eat the *fono*, others lay stress on the sister's son as pre-eminently the one who is *fahu*. The father's sister's son is also *fahu*. A very intelligent Tongan says that one cannot lay down a hard and fast rule as to who is especially *the fahu* in every case. A concrete example is that of Takai, a descendant of the daughter of Alea-motua, the Tu'i Kanokupolu who died in 1845, who is *fahu* and *kai fono* to the present Queen.

The *fahu* rights of the sister's son are clear; but the children of both sons and daughters have free access to

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

their grand-parents, and are, at all events in general, of superior social rank to them, yet they are not necessarily *fahu* to them.

Do the rights of the *mokopuna* and of the sister's son indicate a fusion of two social organizations?

There is also an expression *hako 'eiki*, which simply translated would mean chiefly descendants, but is defined by a Tongan informant as a descendant, *hako*, of a chief other than the one to whom his "body rightly is related," which apparently means a person closely related to one noble house, but having in his veins the blood of some other noble family.[6]

Foreigners, being exempt from the *tapu* binding on the native, may eat the *fono;* but when the descendant of a foreigner has much Tongan plebeian blood claims based on foreignness are disallowed. At a *kava* party of Ata's some women were sitting in the *alofi*, and were ordered to move. One, however, who said she was a Samoan, was allowed to stay, and sat throughout the ceremony with one hand resting on the ground, which would not have been permitted to a Tongan woman or man.

Should there happen to be no *kai fono* in the assembly the chief may call anyone to come and take the *fono*. After the chief's *fono* has been taken no difficulty is felt about the others. The *matapule* may tell the man who is taking away the chief's to take all; he may take all together, or may take the chief's first and then return for the remainder. There is no formality here; it is merely a matter of convenience.

The time occupied with the *fono* is that for certain speeches to be made by the *matapule*, mainly of a congratulatory sort. There are certain stereotyped phrases of compliment, e.g., *kei tu'u pe 'ae la'a*, the sun is still in its place, i.e., the king is still well. A very interesting feature of these ceremonial addresses is the introductory

[6] *Hou'eiki matua*, noble parents, are chiefs who have become the progenitors of other titled houses, i.e., in addition to their original title which has continued in the direct line, at some point in their history another line and title have branched off from them.

Kai fonua, eating the land. Ata and Vaea are *kai fonua;* first-fruits were taken to them, and they ordered fruits of the land to be taken to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. There were no *kai fonua* chiefs among the Tu'i Tonga chiefs. *(Anga faka-kai-fonua* is said to be an abusive term.)

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

Grandparents and Grandchildren

602 603 784 [264] No *tapu* is observed between the grandparents and grandchildren. The latter may touch the head of the former and eat the balance of their food. An old man who lives with his daughter's family does not dictate to his grandchildren at all, because it is their father's concern.

Brothers and Sisters

593 784 602 [291] 513 516 521 764 264 Brother and sister: The relationship between them is still an outstanding feature of Tongan kinship. A number of *tapu* were referred by the villagers. Brother and sister should respect (*faka-apaapa*) each other. They cannot see each other naked. At ten years of age, they have to sleep separately. A brother may enter the same room as the sister, but may not talk to her without sitting down. The sister may not come into the brother's room or hut except on a special occasion such as a funeral. They may not use each other's comb, bed, clothes or suitcase. They may take a meal together, must sit separately as far as possible, and must not use tableware in common, but if it is washed it may be used. [516] 195 [521] When the brother is beside the sister he may not eat while standing. They may not lie down where they are together. When addressed, the other must reply with *koau* politely. They may talk with each other except on such topics as a quarrel or love. When the sister is talking with someone, the brother should keep away from her lest he should overhear the conversation about an obscene matter. Each may not attend the wedding and [589] 764 funeral of the other. They may not dance together. The brother may [535] not join a circle of *kava* drinking in which his sister is asked to make *kava*. [276] The sister may cook and wash for him, but not his underwear. When [521] one is ill and there is no one else to care for the patient, the other may [758] nurse, but must stay as aloof as possible from the patient. At parting, one may shake hands or kiss the cheek of the other.

[264] Elder brother and younger brother: It is *tapu* for the younger brother to eat the food the elder brother leaves over and to wear his clothes.

Elder sister and younger sister: *Tapu* of the same nature as between the brothers are also found in the relationship between the elder and the [846] younger sisters. When one is delivered of a baby, the other may take care of her.

604 *Uncle, Aunt, Nephew and Niece*

602 [601] Towards the parallel uncle and aunt who are denoted *tamai* and *fa'e*, the attitude is just the same as towards one's own father and mother. On the other hand, an uncle (or aunt) loves his parallel nephew and niece as well as his own children.

Paternal aunt (mehikitanga) and nephew and niece (fakafotu)

602 604 784 [276] 764 [601] *Fakafotu* have to show much more respect to *mehikitanga* than to the father. The maximum of *tapu* is still found in their relation. They may not smoke while she is near. On her funeral they may not stay in a room where the corpse is laid. *Fakafotu* may *kole* (ask) something, but will be called robbers if they take it away without her permission.

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bride's mother to share the pleasure with. She was also very much pleased and gave another bark cloth to her daughter. The young couple had been staying at his parents' house until they built their own hut in the *api kolo* of his father's a few years later. Her parents eagerly wanted to bring her back for her first delivery. The first son was born under her parental roof and the new mother spent there about three months for her recuperation. On the day of its birth, her father made *umu*, including one chicken and one pig; her mother gave the baby two mats (*fala paongo* and *fala tofua*) and two sheets of bark cloth (ten *langanga* and five *langanga*); the husband's mother gave some napkins, mosquito net and cloth.

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Funerals

When a husband dies, his wife, mother or brothers wash his body immediately. If the dead person is a women, her mother, sisters or mother's sisters undertake this task, and her husband may help them. Children may touch their mother, but not their father. After they rub the corpse with candle nut oil, they put on its clothes. Nowadays, a white shirt is used as an inner wear, and it is wrapped round with bark cloth called *vala lotu*, for which any kind of new bark cloth is used. Its size is not uniform; four *langanga* is enough for a child and five to eight *langanga* for an adult. This is prepared generally by those women to whom the dead stands in a near relation, namely his wife, mother, mother's sister and so on. Some bark cloths and mats are piled in the middle of the house, on which the corpse wrapped with *valu lotu* is laid. They cover the corpse again with *ngafingafi* and *kie* which is called *feta'u*. Instead of these mats a piece of white silk may be used now as a covering of a corpse.

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Then, they send for a steward to lead prayer. Two or three *fahu*, that is *ilamutu*, of the dead, regardless of sex, takes seats close to the head of the dead. The seat-ordering among these *fahu* does not seem to be strict. The family members and relations of the dead sit inside the room; when the dead is a man his children and sisters are excluded from the room, and her brothers are excluded when a woman dies. After the steward finishes his prayer, people express their condolence by turns, weeping and kissing. The near relations offer *fihu* and bark cloth, and the remote relations, friends and villagers deck the centre of the room with a piece of cloth and garland. On this special occasion, the children and sisters may kiss the corpse to bid farewell to the dead man, and the brothers may do the same to the dead sister. As soon as they bid farewell, they should leave the room and rest in a temporarily built shelter. All day long people mourn and neighbours stand outdoors and sign hymns. *Liongi*, that is younger brothers, *fa'e tangata* and those who are inferior in rank to the dead person, have a lot of miscellaneous works to do, for example boiling water and serving *topai* (a kind of dumpling in soup) and tea to visitors. It is the *ulu i famili* who assigns them duties. Meanwhile, one of the *liongi* prepares *kava*, and men drink until next morning. The first cup should go to T. Leka, and the subsequent cup may go to any present *matapule*.

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46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
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621 Associated with this diversity was a wide range of variation in household size. Household membership ranged from one to twenty-six persons, with no clearly modal pattern (see Figure 1). On the contrary, while more than 80 percent of the households had fewer than twelve persons, two-thirds had between five and eleven members. Again, no pattern seemed to emerge from the data except for a broad correlation between the average number of persons per household and the number of family groups in the household.

Despite the fact that almost half the households had attached individuals, a structural explanation for this eluded me. All but a few of them were closely related to the head male or head female in the household, either as parents, grandchildren, siblings, or the children of siblings, but there was no obvious pattern to these relationships (see Table 12). Some attached individuals were long-time residents of the household, others just [597] short-term visitors. However, except for those grand-
[603] children adopted by their grandparents in the informal fostering relationship known as pusi'aki (see Morton 1977) and who are regarded as members of their grandparents' family group, there is no significant difference between the dependent status of a dependent family group and those who are merely attached individuals. The only point that

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 110]

593 562 (603) attempting to reverse the sex role of a girl; only small boys are treated in this manner. Mothers and grandmothers are likely the persons who initiate a reversal in sex roles.

Matakali: A Residence Group

591 The residence pattern of Tongan villagers is such that after marriage a man usually remains in the village of his father, and a women moves to her husband's village if she resided elsewhere before marriage. Virilocality is the preferred form and the dominant form of post-marital residence. However, exceptions to this pattern are quite common, primarily because of economic factors. Considerations such as land availability, opportunities for wage labor, and access to health care and educational services frequently override the preference for virilocal residence. A sample of all married persons in Puke revealed that twenty-four couples were residing virilocally, seven uxorilocally, and twelve were following a neolocal pattern. This residence pattern helps account 591 613 for the "loose" membership characteristics of the Tongan residence group, matakali.

Gifford (1929: 38-39) briefly discusses matakali and suggests that the term was borrowed from Fiji where the cognate form is matanggali. Although Gifford has little information his data do suggest that residence is important in defining matakali. Matakali in Puke are defined 591 by residence and consanguinity. Matakali group households of the same 592 village under an 'ulumotu'a 'headman'. In each constituent household 613 either the household head, or the spouse of the household head, is a

597 602 transactions as initiators, negotiators, and beneficiares far more frequently than men.

593 597 [177] Goodenough (Carroll 1970: 404-405) has suggested that in Polynesia the transfer of child custody may, in fact, be an exercise of parenthood rights beyond those of the biological parents. In Tonga grand-

593 597 603 608 parents and classificatory parents have some rights of jural parenthood, but primary rights are held by the biological parents. Secondary rights of parenthood are succeeded to in cases where a child is abandoned or in cases where both parents have died. In situations such as this, which are relatively rare, grandparents or classificatory parents would probably assume the responsibility of parenthood.

593 597 Tongan adoptions constitute a transfer of jural parenthood and in that sense are true adoptions. The principals in an adoption transaction are the adopter and the adoptee's biological parents, and in each case the biological parents both must agree to relinquish their rights of jural parenthood before an agreement is reached.

[602] It is the kin relationship between adopters and biological parents that determines the nature of the adoption process, not the existence of overriding rights to jural parenthood.

Circumstances of Adoption

597 602 An adoptee in Tongan society does not break with kin ties established through his genetrix and genitor; rather, he assumes a second

[608] set of relationships. If a child is adopted by a classificatory parent there is little shift in terminology with respect to the kinsmen of that